Address of Joseph Segar, to the voters of Norfolk district.

ADDRESS OF JOSEPH E SEGAR, TO THE VOTERS OF THE NORFOLK DISTRICT.

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[**From the Norfolk Day Book.**]

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J. R. Hathaway, Esq., Editor Day Book, Norfolk, Va.

My Dear Sir: Your paper of yesterday's date was received to-day, for the kind expressions of which I owe you very many thanks.

Your impression that I am not a resident of the District, and therefore not eligible as its representative in Congress, is, I assure you, wholly erroneous.

Unwilling to lose my vote, and certainly never designing to abandon permanently the land of my fathers, I brought the matter last year to the notice of the county judge of my county, and the result was a judgment that I had done nothing to forfeit residence in Virginia, and that at this moment my name is on the registration lists of Elizabeth City county, and I most certainly design, if life lasts till election day in November, to cast my vote at its polls.

I am quite willing, my dear sir, and, to be candid, quite as anxious, to serve our State in Congress, if the people of the District shall sec fit so to honor me. I have devoted, as you well know, many years of my life to the study of her interests, and suppose that I am pretty well imbued with a sense of them. I would like to help her in this her hour of sore prostration, and I am very sure I can nowhere so help her as in the Halls of Congress. Her depression is too serious to rally from by her own unaided means and influence. She

can only be raised up to essential recuperation by the strengthening vigor and redeeming power of the Federal Union—in a word, by the operation of Federal legislation.

What the State wants and must have is immigration and capital, and these must be allured to her by general and resistless causes. Printed circulars and newspaper paragraphs, personal explanations, and appeals of land companies and land agents, are of no avail. Shrewd men, looking [, 1876] 2 F231 .S46 to a change of settlement, will not be led or misled by any such decoys.

But canals and railroads are things not to be mistaken or misunderstood. They are seen with the naked eye as instrumentalities that ensure rapid and cheap transportation to market, and bring cheap and quick returns; and so the immigrant pitches his tent in the land of the canal and the railroad.

So that we need, first of all, for the redintegration of our languishing State the completed canal and the ramified railroad. Reliance upon any less active agency will be a sure miscalculation.

We want, by all means, and we will have, if we manage well, the Southern Pacific Railroad. Congress has granted hundreds of millions worth of land and money to the West and Northwest until half a dozen pacific railroads lie between the Lakes and the Mississippi, and the Pacific shores. It is high-time the South was thought of in this blessed connection.

The commonest justice and incontrovertible right demand that we of the South shall share the means from the national bounty of building one of these trans-continental railways from the Father of Waters to the Pacific. Virginia has, in particular, a claim in this regard unimpeachable in human chancery. Without money and without price, she gave a way for the common good, and at a crisis of trying peril, a very empire of territory, constituting now five of the most populous, and flourishing, and richest States of the Union. If we play our part well, we too, will have one of these magnificent thoroughfares that, for travel

and traffic, will put far in the shade all the other Pacific railroads, and give us our share, perhaps the lion's share, of the trade of the Pacific coast, and of the East Indies and China and Japan.

Now, about this Southern Pacific Railroad, I think I may claim to be pretty well posted. I believe I made of it the first exposition but one, and delivered immediately after the war the first public speech ever made in its favor. The late Joseph S. Wilson, then Commissioner of the General Land Office, a gentleman of no cramped views, has the honor, so far as I know, of having made the first demonstration. I followed in his lead, and have watched the great enterprise with unceasing interest up to this moment.

I say, I think I know all about this Southern Pacific Railroad. We need have no fear of Tom. Scott or any other competitor for the vast traffic of this grand avenue. We can, if we are smart, put the bridle on Mr. Tom. Scott, and so guide him, that should he scheme to harm us—which I do not believe he will attempt—he cannot damage us.

It can be made of countless value to Virginia and all the South. Its eastern terminus ought to be at Norfolk, for that is the point marked out by nature as the shipping port of the Pacific and eastern trade.

And the details of the scheme may be so aranged, if we have the right sort of representatives in Congress, that every Southern trade-centre shall have its just share of the benefits. Should I be your representative, every effort I am capable of shall be made to give the great work that direction and scope.

We want also, in order to make the influx of immigrants and capital irresistibly sure, the completion of the great water line of Virginia, the James river and Kanawha canal.

We are not to suppose for a moment that this noblest of the commercial avenues of the Union is done for. Those who entertain this idea have but to read the great reports and

speeches of Senator Windom on the subject to be satisfied that the work is not abandoned by the United States, but is only delayed for more propitious times.

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Even now, appropriations are actually made, as for several years past, for improving the Kanawha river, which is but a part, and most important part, of our water line.

When the proper time comes, the people of the great West will take no denial from Congress as to the completion of the central waterway. To them it will be an overpowering, irresistible necessity, and have it they will, as I endeavored to demonstrate in an elaborate argument published some years since in the Norfolk Journal. I stand yet by the reasoning of that argument. It is founded in eternal truth, and its conclusions will be as certainly realized as the elements shall last.

What we want and shall gain by the water line is a depot on tide water for the collection and shipment of the cannel coal of the Kanawha valley, and other heavy freights of the West. And for this the canal will be an absolute guarantee.

And what we want as a nation, and on our own State account, is the furnishing by cheap transportation of the cereals of the West to England and other European countries. A market is indeed already made there for western grain and other staples. Recent statistics show that an immense increase of supplies to England and Germany from the United States has already taken place. We have, by cheapened transport rates, and other advantages, underbid Russia until we have quite the lion's share of the cereal trade, and it is all the time increasing. The very low transportation on our water line will, as sure as fate, establish an invaluable trans-atlantic market for American bread stuffs and other productions.

Virginia will be a great beneficiary in this; that she will secure in her tide waters the foreign shipping port, and will have passing through her territory, and by her own thoroughfare both ways, the measureless traffic involved in this new European trade.

If I understand any subject perfectly—see it in all its philosophies and consequences—it is this James river and Kanawha canal. For long years I struggled for it as if for the life of the State or of the nation. And I cherish the solacing belief that, under the Providence of God, I have been somewhat instrumental in rescuing from destruction this most magnificent of all American internal trade enterprises, and held it in reserve for a brilliant and imperial destiny.

Will you send me to Congress to continue my labors in this great cause?

We must have, too, cheap transportation to its fullest extent. Judge Hughes said in one of his powerful papers on the subject that, “cheap transportation is the great need of the West.” It is the great need of the whole country—of every State, county, and, neighborhood. It is food and raiment, thrift, comfort, independence—necessary and luxury alike.

This immeasurable individual and national good we can reach only by improving our water-ways, and using national legislation to regulate the rates of railroad transportation.

This will involve a hard struggle in Congress.

Already a Democratic House of Representatives is exhibiting opposition to this grand policy by questioning the power of Congress to interfere with the regulations of railroad rates of transportation. Not a single proposition from the Committee on Railroads and Canals has succeeded at this session. A few days since a bill granting the right of way for a railroad from Chicago to Charleston was defeated in committee. Not constitutional such grants, it is said; which, being interpreted, meaneth, not allowable by the resolutions of '98.

If you send me to Congress I shall labor in this great cause—the cause of all the people—with all my heart and soul. For this grand reform put me down unmistakably.

We want, further, manufactures. This great recuperating agency we 4 cannot do without. Virginia must be made like Pennsylvania; have manufacturing establishments scattered through her domain, and her every stream turning the machinery of some manufacturing establishment, and then she will soon be a redeemed and a great State.

I cannot forbear, my dear sir, (so apposite is it,) to reproduce from a speech I delivered in Hampton in July, 1867, in favor of the Congressional plan of reconstruction, the following quotation:

“Fellow-citizens, whatever of brilliant destiny awaits our State, will be reflected from the protective policy and the agency of the railroad and canal.

“In manufacturing enterprise lies much of our future prosperity and industrial consequence and power. We have facilities for manufacturing, such as few States on the earth possess—coal and iron in close juxtaposition—raw material of every kind, and endless water power almost by the side of each other; and all we require to evoke and employ our exhaustless resources, is the stimulating agency of the protective policy aided by ready and cheap transit.

“Fellow-citizens, I expect to see the day when Virginia will be a great manufacturing State, and when I see that day, I shall behold her with empire on her brow, and laureled wreaths encircling it, growing greener and yet greener, until her renovated and reblossoming domain, exhibiting divided pursuit and multiplied vocation, and their ever-following thrift, shall bring her out one of the first commonwealths on earth.”

It follows, of course, that I am an advocate of a protective tariff. On this subject I learned my lessons from Gen. Jackson, Mr. Calhoun. Mr. Clay, George Evans of Maine, Andrew Stewart of Pennsylvania, and more latterly, of Judge Kelly, now a Representative from that

enlightened protective tariff State. I studied carefully under these good teachers, and, I think, successfully.

I add on this point that after long continued observation of details and facts, I have arrived at an invincible conviction that *the invariable effect of adequate protection has been to give the American market to the American manufacturer, and to cheapen to the consumer every article of manufacture.*

Between Mr Morrison's tariff bill, and Judge Kelly's views, I scarcely need say, that I most decidedly incline to the latter.

These are unpopular opinions in Virginia, I am well aware, but they are sincerely mine, and I fear not to avow them.

In general politics, I am an old time whig of the Henry Clay, Daniel Webster stamp; or more properly, a Federalist of the olden school. My notions shout the character and powers of our Federal system, I derived from George Washington, Alexander Hamilton, John Marshall. James Madison. Henry Clay, the “great expounder,” Daniel Webster, and the judicial interpretations of the Supreme Court of the United States. And from them I learned the precious and immortal truth, that the union of these States is the grand palladium of American liberty, and American peace, happiness and grandeur.

How I struggled for the Union in secession's glooming hour, yon well know, and all Virginia knows. How hard did I strive by argument and remonstrance, and how fervently did I pray to the God of nations to retain my native land within the Union!

So help me God, I never compromised for one moment with the great criminality. I could never bring myself to the belief that the mandate of my State was any defence against the crime of attempting to break up that Union, and simply because my State has no rightful power to command me, as one of her citizens, to commit treason against the government to which I owe primary allegiance.

If, therefore, you delegate me to Congress, you will send me there with a conviction never to be overcome that no one State, and that no authority on the earth but a majority of three fourths of all the States, can dot an I, or cross a T of our Federal constitution.

In all this I am but consistent. Before the secession ordinance was passed, I denounced secession as treason. In the Assembly Hall of Virginia, in the face of her assembled Burgesses, I stigmatized the seizure of the U.S. guns, at Bellona arsenal, as dishonorable to the State; and as a member of the 37th Congress—the great war Congress—I voted for every dollar and every man required to put down the rebellion, and because, first, it was right and was my duty; and, secondly, because I knew that the sooner Virginia got back into the Union, the better for her. I am altogether willing to let the worst be known of me, because the worst I did was indeed the very best. lean never surrender, but with life, one jot of these opinions. They constitute the chief glory and honor of my humble public life.

In reference to the currency question I can only say that, most manifestly, gold and silver are the money of the Constitution, and, it seems to me the bounden duty of the Government to return as speedily as possible to the resumption of specie payments. Whether it should begin at a particular date named, or await the gradual happening of circumstances betokening the arrival of the hour for resumption, I am not sufficiently informed to say. But it seems to me, as one not fully informed on the subject, that the naming of a day for resumption would put the country upon a course of preparation. If I shall have to deal with this subject, I shall do the best I can to find out the right, but with a strong leaning to the money of the Constitution.

I accept without reservation the new amendments of the Constitution as equally binding with its older predecessors, and implicitly recognize the great principle wrought by the rebellion, that there shall be ever hereafter political and legal equality alike for the white and colored race. Without this acceptance and acknowledgment, we cannot have the ancient concord restored, and reconstruction established on a satisfactory basis. And I

much apprehend that the people of the South, and even the Democracy of the North, do not cordially acquiesce in this great truth. Their heart does not seem to me, from all the circumstances, to be in it. But until it shall be recognized and appreciated, *and practically applied,* there can be no stable peace and tranquility, and no rally of improvement and prosperity in the seceded States.

I have heard much said for several years past about the tendency of the Government under Republican rule to centralization—to the stealthy destruction of local state government. Well, in time of a convulsing rebellion there will be necessarily a straining of the Constitutional powers. For example: Though gold and silver are declared by the Constitution the only legal tender, yet, during the war, United States notes were declared a legal tender because it had become “necessary and proper,” as one of the means of suppressing the rebellion. And so the Supreme Court decided. But who is responsible for this straining of Government authority to extreme tension, but the secessionists themselves?

And so, in the winding up of the rebellion, it became necessary to go outside of the Constitution and invoke the laws of war, the applicability of which to the occasion no one can doubt. The conquerer has always the right to prescribe the terms of settlement and reconstruction. Severe measures and rough dealing were as necessary, (if not more so,) as during the war. Hence, military governments, universal colored suffrage, and the removal of disloyal incumbents from the State offices while the process of reconstruction was going on.

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For these and all other consequences of the war—for all the hard legislation arising out of it—for all its blood and death, and its thousand desolations and horrors—the secessionists are alone responsible, and have no right to refer, as they now constantly do, to the severe measures they provoked as evidences of Republican movement towards a centralizing policy.

There have been, doubtless, sometimes tendencies to consolidation, but not very often exhibited.

There was none in Gen. Washington's administration; none in John Adams,' save, perhaps, the enactment of the alien and sedition laws, which were as clearly constitutional as an order of adjournment; nor in Mr. Jefferson's, nor in Mr. Madison's, nor in Mr. Monroe's, nor John Quincy Adams,' beyond the rhetorical flourishes about “light-houses of the skies,” and being “palsied by the will of constituents.”

But it was reserved for democratic administrations to start measures of consolidation.

It was in Gen. Jackson's time that the New Jersey outrage was perpetrated—a deed by which a sovereign State was, unheard, disfranchised of her representation in Congress in contempt of all law and order, and sanctified only because it was the doing of the State rights Democracy.

And the standing army scheme of Mr. Van Buren and his Secretary of War, Mr. Poinsett, there never was a more audacious assault upon the right of the States to local government; for whatever of military power the States possess, was ruthlessly to be turned over to the Federal Government, to that a pure military despotism would have been the result. It helped materially to drive the Van Buren dynasty from power.

Indeed, in the Jackson era, defiance of the safeguards of the constitution, and of the great principles of civil liberty, was a matter of almost daily occurrence. The cardinal maxims of Anglo-Saxon freedom that the people's money can be appropriated only by the people's representatives, and that the purse and the sword should never be united in the same hand, were flagrantly desecrated by President Jackson in the removal of the deposits. His celebrated protest to the Senate of the United States claimed for the Executive more than kingly powers. And his followers in that body did not scruple to perpetrate the meanest, blackest deed in American history—the expunging of the journal of the Senate of the

United States. And yet, despite of these centralizing violences, the Constitution still lives, and the Government and the people are free. So that the Republican party is neither the originator nor monopolist of centralization measures.

The simple truth is, that the Supreme Court of the United States is an insuperable barrier against undue consolidation of Federal authority, and an effective guarantee of local State government, and of the individual liberties of the people. Its decisions have certainly run very strongly in the direction of State rights.

Of course, I shall heartily support the Cincinnati nomination. It is an admirable ticket. It could not be well bettered. The nominees, Hayes and Wheeler, are men of spotless purity of character and fine abilities. They are just the men for the institution of whatever reforms may be needed. They both aver that they recognize no standard of qualification for official station but honesty, capability and fidelity. A good foundation to build upon.

They are old line whigs, whose proud motto ever was, “the Union, the Constitution, and the enforcement of the laws.” They are plain, modest men, and not hackneyed politicians.

The Democracy cry aloud for reform, and, doubtless, there are some 7 abuses calling for correction. It would be most remarkable, if after a gigantic and bloody desolating civil war requiring the expenditure of a million of dollars a day to carry it on, there were no demoralization. All wars are demoralizing, especially civil wars. To prevent all abuse would require omniscient intuition of personal character, and whole armies of watchmen and guards. No vigilance could be adequate until the debris of the rebellion's great convulsion should be cleared away, and peace and good order resumed and a peace system fully established.

Who more likely to find out and arrest abuses than this upright, well-tried candidate of ours —Rutherford B. Hayes—well-tried on union battlefields as on the peaceful arena of high civil station?

But who are primarily and chiefly responsible for whatever of demoralization has come upon us, who but the Democracy, that brought on secession and civil war?

There is *one* reform of the most vital nature, one that the rebellion inaugurated—and that is the priceless reform that all true patriots crave, which, after sweeping away the enemies and would be destroyers of the Union, put the Government in the hands of Union men. There may it continue forever!

Will they who essayed to destroy the Union, who, without a solitary grievance or wrong, strove to move Heaven and earth to break up the Union of our fathers—will they, I say, if they succeed to the present administration, be a Union party, honest and sincere?

I fear not, more especially as all their avowed doctrines tend to disunion as naturally as the current of the Mississippi sets down to the Gulf.

At all events, will it not be safer to retain in the Government the party that has no stain or suspicion of disloyalty resting upon it? Is it, not the safe side?

Desiring as I have said to represent the district in Congress, I have resolved to make through you this address to its voters that they may know precisely what my sentiments are, so that there he no mistake or misunderstanding.

And I have preferred to leave the common place topics, and advert only to those great questions, now springing from a new departure, that concern the national welfare, and especially the welfare of Virginia. For one I desire some great pacifying renovating agency, and I quote from one of my arguments on the James River Canal my views as I still entertain them. I then said:

“I do not believe—I grieve to say it—that the South is fully reconstructed. I am sure our own State is not. I believe the feud is as deadly as of yore, more so than soon after the war. Thorns still rankle. I believe there is among her people but little of genuine attachment

to the Federal Union. I mean among those who took part in the secession movement. I believe there are yet bitter personal hates and bitter political hates— a sectional embitterment that will not yield to the “sober second thought,' or to the suggestions of charity. I see no prospect of obliterating this deadly embitterment and severing antagonism but in the operation of some great physical agency, which, addressed to the interests of our people, shall gradually reach their passions, and by degrees assuage them down to unmalignant mood.

“That physical agency is to be found in the pacifying influences of the railroad and the canal—in this instance, chiefly the canal. The mutual dependences—the constant intercommunication—the reciprocal interchanges, commercial and social, that this almost omnipotent cause will engender—these are the powers that will smooth down the asperities, and round off the sharp corners of the bitter sectional enmity that the civil 8 war begot. I believe that the completion of the water-line will fabricate a bond of interest that will forever unite the great West and the great East, and fuse the two sections into one, making the people of each bury the animosities and ill blood of the past, and once more joyfully and proudly rally under one common flag. The accomplishment may be slow—will be slow; but the great cause will not fail of its effect, and that effect will be to ally the East and the West by physical, commercial and social contiguity, and make them neighbors and friends forever. After that, no dread of secession and civil war again, but genuine, sincere love of the Union forever.”

Candor requires me to say that I can have little hope, constituted as the party machinery of the district is, with scarcely a native Virginian in either the local or general committees, to have much of a chance for a nomination.

And so I have determined to lay my opinions at some length before the people of the District, that they may themselves take the matter in hand, and see to it that the nominating convention be fairly constituted, and the wishes of the men of substance—the solid men of the party—be consulted in the choice of a Representative.

Yours truly, JOSEPH SEGAR.